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the setting of Kadsht and the appearance of Keirt[1] as the indications that the final ceremonies were to begin, and this was about two o'clock on the following morning. 765

At every funeral place used for the *marvainolkedr*, there is a circle of stones, smaller than that in which the hut is built, with an opening which in some cases faces the east. This circle of stones is the *azaram*, and before the ceremonies begin, a man digs a hole by the opening in its side. The various objects to be burnt with the remains are now brought from the hut in which they had been placed on the previous day, and are laid outside the *azaram* and the *narskedr* is laid by their side. As the remains are removed from the hut, the wailing becomes louder and the people cry bitterly. Outside the stone circle a fire is made of the wood called *kidmän*,[2] upon which clarified butter is poured. This fire, which is known as the *puntiit*, is lighted by a man of the same clan as the deceased. At the funeral of a male, there is burnt on this fire the dairy vessel called *ertatpun* which had belonged to the dead man, and the imitation buffalo horns called *petkuter*, about ten in number for a man and five for a boy. At the funeral of a woman, I think that a *majpatitthpun* is burnt, viz., a vessel used for fetching buttermilk from the dairy, but I am not certain of this.

There now follows the ceremony called *narsatipimi*, *i.e.*, "the *nars* we rub," in which the leading part is taken by a person of the same sex as the deceased. I only have a full record of this ceremony at a woman's funeral, and in this case a woman took the relics out of their covering, and threw away the pieces of bark in which they had been enclosed. She rubbed butter on the pieces of skull and the hair, put the hair between two pieces of skull, tied them together with thread, and replaced them in the ornamented cloak (*pukuruputkuli*). She then bowed down and touched the remains with her forehead, and then this salutation was performed by all those present. 602 605 765

At a funeral seen by Mr. Thurston,[3] this ceremony was performed on the previous day at the *marvainolkedr*, and in

[1] See Chap. XXV.

[2] Probably *Olea robusta*.

[3] *Bull.*, i. 176.

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this case the hair was burnt in an iron ladle before the clarified butter was applied.

This ceremony of *narsatipimi* is performed by the daughter-in-law of a woman, or by the mother-in-law of a girl or woman who has no daughter-in-law. At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63) it was performed by Piliurs, the wife of Tüliners (56), the son of the dead woman. At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), a much younger woman, who had no daughter-in-law, the relics were anointed by Muteimi (52 and 69), the mother of Teitnir, Tersveli's husband. I have no record of the person who performs this ceremony at the funeral of a man.

The next step in the proceedings is to light a fire within the circle of stones, this fire being called the *azaramtüt*. Firewood is put within the *azaram* and the *narskedr* in its covering is placed on the wood. If the *azaramkedr* is being held for two or more people simultaneously, the remains of all are put on the wood together.[1] In the pockets of the mantles forming the coverings are placed grain, jaggery, and coins. The *azaramtüt* is then lighted by taking three firebrands in succession from the *puntüt*. The firebrands are placed on the firewood and on the remains by the daughter-in-law or mother-in-law of a female as in the last ceremony.[2] Then all the people take up the burning wood from the *puntüt* and place it within the *azaram* over the remains. The various objects previously brought from the funeral hut are now placed on the fire and burnt, and the special food known as *ashkkarthpimi* may be thrown into the fire. Then all the people cry together, forehead to forehead.

The following are the objects burnt with the remains on the *azaramtüt*, at the funeral of a male:—

(*a*) In the pocket of the cloak, jaggery, the husked grain called *patcherski*, husked barley (*kodjerski*), and rupees in two

[1] As I have already pointed out, this would only happen if the people were of the same clan and sex.

[2] My notes do not make it absolutely clear who lights the fire at the funeral of a male. The *puntüt* is lighted by a man of the same clan, and this is probably also the case with the *azaramtüt*. Owing to the fact that a woman becomes a member of her husband's clan, the daughter-in-law who lights the fire at a woman's funeral will also be of the same clan as the deceased.

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bags, one called *tinkani*, made by the Todas themselves, and the other called *katshiram*, procured from Hindus. 765 177

(*b*) Sticks of the following kinds of wood: *pars*, *karneizi tavat*, *kali*, *toarsmitch*, *kar*. 439

(*c*) A *nanmakud*, a club or stick cut from the *pars* tree (Fig. 67).

(*d*) A *tadri*, or long pole used in the dance and in the *koòtiti* ceremony of the previous day.

(*e*) Several *wak*, bamboo vessels filled with grain, butter, ghi, honey, &c., usually ten in number for adults and five for children.

(*f*) A *tek*, a basket made by the Kotas in which barley or poppy heads are put.

(*g*) A bow (*purs*) and three arrows (*ab*) (Fig. 67).

(*h*) A *kafkati*, or knife, called on ordinary occasions *kudrval*.

(*i*) A *masth*, the axe used to kill the buffaloes on the previous day, called on this occasion *trktpmasth*.

(*j*) A *miturkwadr*, the palm-leaf umbrella, so called because procured from Mitur in the Wainad.

(*k*) A *kudshmurn*, a special kind of sieve made by the Kotas and not used in ordinary life.

At the funeral of a woman boxes called *pettei* or *miturpettei* are burnt instead of the *wak*. These are small boxes made of rattan, covered with cloth and adorned with cowries. There are also burnt the three objects especially connected with women, the pounder (*wask*), sieve (*murn*), and broom (*kip*), but the pounder is only burnt after the following ceremony has taken place. 765

As soon as the things have been placed on the fire, there follows the ceremony[1] called *trsankdti*. At the funeral of a male, the *matchuni*, or cousin, of the dead man puts on the woman's ornaments known as *tagars*, *keiveli*, and *pulthi*, and stands at the opening in the circle of stones with his right arm outside his cloak (*kevenarut*). He is joined there by the man who has lighted the fire, and they cry together, both standing at the entrance of the *asaram*, where they 602 605 765

[1] There was some question as to whether the ceremony did not begin as soon as the fire was lighted.

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remain till the fire is extinguished. Owing to the fact that the fire is lighted by a man of the same clan as the deceased, the two men who cry together will also be *matchuni*—thus, at the funeral of Karspisti (12), the fire was lighted by his half-brother Karzo. Pakhwar (16), who performed the *irsankati* ceremony, was the *matchuni* of both Karzo and Karspisti, being the son of the brother of Tedjveli, the mother of Karzo and stepmother of Karspisti.

At the funeral of a female, the woman who stands at the entrance should also be a *matchuni* of the deceased. She is decorated with ornaments, in this case proper to her own sex, and she stands at the entrance of the *azaram* holding the pounder. She is joined by a woman closely related to the deceased and the two women cry together. After crying together for a while, they go round the circle and then put the pounder on the fire, after which they take off their ornaments.

At the funeral of Narskuti (56 and 63), Mutkadrk (56 and 72) stood in front of the circle holding the pounder, and was joined by Munat, the daughter of the dead woman.

At the funeral of Tersveli (52 and 63), Edjog (56) stood at the entrance; she was the *matchuni* of the dead woman, being the daughter of Tüliners, the brother of Tersveli's mother. She was joined by Teimidz (52), the sister of the dead woman's husbands.

The fire is now extinguished by pouring on water (*kédr tüt ârs kudrchi*). Some of the food put into the pocket of the *putkuli* and in the various vessels may now be taken out[1] and given to the Kotas, who up to this time have been playing the special funeral tunes called *sagerthkwelv*.

The ashes are now swept into the hole which had been dug at the opening in the stone circle. They are covered with earth dug from elsewhere and the spot is covered with a stone.

At the funeral of a male, a man of the same clan as the deceased then brings a bell (*kwungg*) and goes round the

[1] This would seem to indicate that when the fire is extinguished, the objects burnt with the relics are far from being consumed by the fire.

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602 764 marriage, but the head of a widow is covered by her own father or by someone of his clan who takes his place. The plausible explanation appears to be that the covering is performed by the father of the woman, not as father of the widow, but as father-in-law of the dead man.

Those who have married into the family of the deceased, the *paiol*, have to make certain contributions towards the outlay for the funeral, and it is in connexion with one of these contributions that the interesting ceremony of cloth-giving occurs.

The essential feature of the ceremony seems to be that a cloth passes between a relative or representative of the dead person and those who have married into the family of the dead person, and the ceremony involves a money payment to the family of the dead person from those who have married into the family. The ceremony is one which links the funeral ceremonies to those of marriage.

602 604 In other ceremonies of the Todas the parts played by different kin are far less conspicuous. The *mun* or mother's brother has, however, several important functions. To him falls the duty of naming a child, on which occasion he has also to give a calf. He takes the chief part in the *tersampt-pimi* ceremony, in which he cuts the hair of the child with a special ritual. In the ear-piercing ceremony the maternal uncle pierces one ear, and in the special case of which I have a record, he gave two buffaloes towards the expenses attendant on the ceremony.

553 It is probable that a girl is named by her *mumi*, or father's sister, but this is a point on which I am not quite sure.

602 605 Under certain conditions *matchuni*, when associated together, have to perform certain ceremonial acts. When two male *matchuni* eat rice and milk together, they must first ask each other, "*pa tòr tinkina?*" "Milk food shall I eat?" and if they eat honey together, they must say "*tein tinkina?*" Two female *matchuni* eating together must also use these formulæ, but they are not said when a man is eating in company with his female *matchuni*, though possibly the two would never actually eat at the same time.

Male *matchuni* have also to go through a ceremony when

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Male matchuni have also to go through a ceremony when they pass in company over either of the two sacred rivers of the Todas, the Paikara (Teipakh) and the Avalanche (Pakhwar). As the two men approach the river, they pluck and chew some grass, and each man says to the other "*pò thûdrikina, pò ẓudrikina?*"—"Shall I throw the river (water), shall I cross the river?" or, instead of the second sentence, they may say "*pò pûkhkina?*"—"Shall I enter the river?" They then go to the side of the river and each man dips his hand in the water and throws a handful away from him three times and then they cross the river, each with the right arm outside the cloak as is usual when crossing these sacred streams.

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If the *matchuni* cross on a Tuesday, Friday or Saturday[1] they do not throw water, but are content with chewing the grass, and if the funeral ceremonies of a person belonging to the clan of either are not complete the water will not be thrown.

This ceremony performed by *matchuni* when crossing a sacred river was said to be connected with the legend given on p. 592, in which two *matchuni* are concerned.

[1] Properly the river should not be crossed at all on these days (see p. 418).